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ABSTRACT

An outgrowth of earlier research on historical and contemporary adult education in Greece, this paper provides highlights of the relationship between the state and adult education in that country. The highlights are organized by the following historical periods: prehistory (c. 3000-1100 B.C.); early and archaic Greece (c. 1100-700 B.C.); preclassical and classical periods (c. 700-323 B.C.); Hellenistic period (323-146 B.C.); Graeco-Roman period (146 B.C.-330 A.D.); Byzantine period (330-1453); Turkish occupation and rule (1453-1821); and modern Greece (1821-present). In addition to a section on each of those historical periods, the paper also includes an introduction, summary, and 16 references. (CML)

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Historical and Contemporary Aspects of the Relationship Between the State and Adult Education in Greece

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Historical and Contemporary Aspects of the Relationship Between the State and Adult Education in Greece

Introduction

The theme of the conference focuses on the relationship between the State and adult education throughout history. The country of Greece, however, has a long history. Consequently, a discussion which provides a breadth of coverage is offered in sacrifice of a more in-depth, focused analysis and discussion of specific periods, eras, or movements in Greek history.

The paper is founded on and an outgrowth of the writer's research on the historical and contemporary story of adult education in the country of Greece (Boucouvalas, 1982a, 1982b, 1985, 1986, 1988; Boucouvalas & Drower, 1985; Boucouvalas & Michopoulos, 1985). More detailed references and citations are included in those works. The following periodization schema provided a framework: (a) Pre-history (c. 3000-1100 B.C.), and early and Archaic (c. 1100-700 B.C.) periods, (b) Pre-classical and classical (c. 700-323 B.C.), (c) Hellenistic (323-146 B.C.), (d) Graeco-Roman (146 B.C.-330 A.D.), (e) Byzantine (330-1453), (f) Turkish occupation and rule, (1453-1821), (g) Modern Greece (1821-present).

Pöggler (1988, p.1) accurately asserts that "the history of adult education has always been a part of national and political history, i.e. not only the history of educational systems." Accordingly, for purposes of the present paper, the concept of "State" refers to and includes national and political history as changes in both governments and society (for example as a result of election, revolution, coup, change in emperors, etc.). Greece, characterized as it has been throughout history by wars, strife, political instability and factions, should provide an instructive case study illustration on the relationship between the "State" and adult education. The term adult education is more akin to education of adults in the present discussion. Such a broad definition entails the view of adult education as: a movement, a dynamic process whereby adults learn, as well as a program or activities of agencies, institutions, and organizational structures in Greek society as well as the social structures (including policy and legislation).

Highlights follow of the relationship between the State and adult education within each period.

Early and Archaic Greece

Examples from prehistory and archaic times are limited. Poets seem to have served as the primary educators of adults during these periods. As such, one might conjecture that poets such as Hesiod and Sappho created a type of critical thinking in their audience regarding the relationship between the State and adult education. The writings of Hesiod, for example, educated people about justice and injustice and the importance of living in harmony with self and society, while the lyric poetry of Sappho educated people about the perils of tyranny.

Given that physical and cultural education has been an integral part of the learning and education of all citizens throughout Greek history, noteworthy is the organization of the Pan-Hellenic Festivals during this period--the most well known of which were the Olympic Games. The influence and support of the State (or government of City-States at that time) is clear. The Pan-Hellenic Festivals were heralded for their role in peace education and represented an important expression of unity among otherwise disparate City-States. Having begun around 776 B.C. they were abolished during 393 A.D. by a Roman emperor. Again one witnesses the influence of the State. During 1896, under Greek rule emancipated from Turkish occupation, they were revived and current State efforts are attempting to bring the Olympic Games back to Greece for the 1996 centennial and perhaps permanently.

Pre-Classical and Classical Period (c. 700-323 B.C.)

The contribution of poets continued during pre-classical times as did cultural and athletic events, the latter of which was supported by the State. A precursor to and foundation for the famed Classical period were the contributions of politicians and legislation in developing a favorable learning milieu. For example, under the administration of Pisistratus in the sixth century B.C. (546-527 B.C.) cultural policy supported and expanded the Pan-Hellenic Festivals. Later, during 450 B.C., Pericles

introduced the Theorikon, a State fund designated to cover attendance fees to the theater for poor people. In Greece, the theater (as well as other cultural events including the Pan-Hellenic Festivals) was recognized as an educational medium.

During classical times the entire city educated the adult, the concept of paideia about which Jaegar (1943, 1944, 1945) has written volumes. The State, one might say, embodied a learning community. In addition, State governance was strongly characterized by official citizen participation (for example, the ekklesia and boule, assemblies of citizens with legislative powers). Consequently, the State actually provided citizens with adult education in the opportunity to participate and learn more about governmental processes.

Conversely, the decline of paideia resulted when the Peloponnesian War brought an end to political stability, particularly in Athens. Seemingly strong leaders were elected (such as Alcibiades and Cleon) who, in essence, by their arrogance and personal aggrandizement were weak to their own egos. The mass populace, however, was apparently unable to see through the demagogues. In addition to these political factors the economic reality imposed by the draining of intellectual and human resources from mainland Greece to various centers in the emerging Hellenistic world had an adverse impact.

Hellenistic Era (323-146 B.C.) and Graeco-Roman Years (146 B.C. - 330 A.D.

The rise of Philip II, King of Macedonia, followed by the conquests of his son, Alexander the Great, led to the Hellenistic Era in Greek history, followed by the Graeco-Roman period. During the Hellenistic era new centers of culture emerged and the center of Greek culture, in fact, shifted from Athens to Alexandria. The human and intellectual resources drawn from mainland Greece eventually depopulated it and a "brain drain" ultimately made Athens easy prey for the Roman conquest in 146 B.C.

Most noteworthy during the Hellenistic Era is the finding (Rostovtzeff, 1941; 1963, p. 300) that "learning and the importance of learning were then for the first time recognized and appreciated by the State." The first learned

society maintained by the State was the Museum which had an extensive library.

By the time Rome became the "protector" of Greece, Greece was hellenizing Rome in the process. At least two Roman emperors were influential factors in promoting the learning and education of adults.

Because of the rising Neoclassicism in art, during 176 B.C. the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius established a University in Athens, although it was not until 31 B.C. that Greece became part of the Roman Empire. When this happened, Athens again experienced a cultural revival. Accordingly, the Roman Emperor Augustus during 27 B.C. had the Roman Agora constructed in Athens and the city once again became acclaimed as a center for learning. Gradually the Roman pagan empire transformed into the Christian empire. The Byzantine period in Greek history is officially marked by the founding of Byzantium as the Eastern Roman Empire in 330 A.D.

Byzantine Era (330-1453)

Clashes ensued between pagan and Christian forces which are illustrated in specific examples of the relationship between the State and adult education. For instance, around 395, Emperor Justinian closed the University in Athens since it was considered to represent pagan Hellenism. Earlier, in 394, the Olympic Games were forbidden to remove old "religions."

The influence of government, particularly in the form of the Emperor, is a recurring theme. Despite the dark epoch of the Byzantine period, from mid-seventh to mid-eighth century, by the mid-eighth to the mid-ninth century efforts were made to make education accessible to everyone. These strides were due in large part to the efforts of Barda--uncle of Emperor Michael III--who organized a school of higher learning in Constantinople which was free of charge to everyone. Photius, a teacher at the University, established a reading club at his home where his friends assembled to read and discuss all sorts of literature both "pagan" and Christian, secular and religious.

The mid-ninth to the mid-eleventh century spawned an increased regard for the civilization of ancient Greece and Emperor Leo IV, a pupil of Photius, was favorably inclined to

all the learned. In fact, the imperial palace often appeared "transformed into a new academy and lyceum" (Vasiliev, 1952, p. 362).

During the tenth century Emperor Constantine VIII Porphyrogenitus protected educators and the intellectual progress of Byzantium. By the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries, however, Emperor Basil II was treating scholars with disdain and, apparently, learning was neglected by the majority of the people. Higher education with governmental support was revived only by the middle of the eleventh century.

Led by Psellus, philosopher-scholar, a learned circle of men were influential in reviving higher learning facilities. A University was established in 1045 in Constantinople. Interestingly, the original aim was a legal school to educate administrative employees.

The twelfth century is considered the first Hellenic Renaissance in the history of Byzantium. Given that the church and State were intertwined, Eustathius, Archbishop of Thessaloniki, was a key figure since his house, in effect, became a learning center.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century (1204) the Byzantine government in Constantinople was replaced with a Latin ruler and separate Greek States formed. Nicaea, one State, became a breeding place of culture. The first ruler of Nicaea, Theodore I Pascaris, was interested in the problem of learning. His successor, John III Ducas Vatatzes, founded libraries and satisfied the cultural needs of the people. He also allowed books to be borrowed for home reading. In that the cultural work laid a foundation for spiritual and political regeneration of the Byzantine Empire's restoration in 1261, Nicaea became a bridge from the first to the second Hellenic Renaissance under Paleologos.

During the fourteenth century the Empire, under Paleologos, remained a center for culture and learning, especially in Constantinople which attracted learners from afar. Although receding somewhat due to the invasion of the Ottoman Turks, a dense nucleus of scholars was interested in the problems of injustice and social inequality. Their writings about the reformation of society and the State provided inspiration to later activists.

By the fifteenth century, however, the pressing onset of the Ottoman Turks made life increasingly more difficult and many scholars fled to the West taking with them library collections and manuscripts. The complete fall of Byzantium to the Turks is marked by the year 1453.

Turkish Occupation and Rule (1453-1821)

Although Gennadium Scholarius, appointed first Patriarch of Constantinople under Turkish rule, immediately established the Patriarchal Academy in Constantinople, the first hundred years of Turkish subjugation are generally recognized by historians as the bleakest and most difficult. By the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, however, Greeks began to recover.

Greeks who had fled or moved in earlier years left provisions in their wills to establish educational institutions in their villages of origin. Because of their contribution, by the end of the sixteenth century schools were established, attended not just by children but by older notables. Academies, resembling literary clubs also arose during the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries where people came together to discuss science, politics, and literature. In general, maintenance and raising of the cultural level of the Greek people and their consciousness were major themes of adult education during this period and were catalyzed primarily by local institutions and non-formal groups and initiatives. As is evident, for the most part, adult education emphases during the Turkish occupation took form outside of major governmental involvement--but sometimes because of and other times in spite of State policies, procedures, and climate. Examples follow.

Because of a State policy which permitted the formation of "communes" ("a legal entity, independent of the administration of the ruling power, but nevertheless enjoying its toleration") (Zakythinos, 1976, p. 57), skill in self-government developed. These self-governing "institutions," therefore, performed an educative function for the Greek people. In some areas all inhabitants were eligible to run for election as administrative officers. The self-governing units were equally important to the religious and national survival of the Greeks, as well as to their self-preservation. Ampelakia, in Thessaly, was an example of a

self-governing unit which took the form of a cooperative association. In fact, it is considered the first cooperative association to actually lay down and go by the principles of cooperation. The spirit of cooperation which developed initially to process and market their product (cotton dyed red by a closely guarded secret) led them to realize how much they were being exploited by merchants and consequently caused them to unite even further. This unity extended to the entire community, and education of citizens to solve community problems became a high priority.

As trading and commerce continued to develop throughout Greece the country began to grow economically and formed a middle class who became conscious of their oppression. In addition, Greek scholars who had fled West in earlier years became concerned with the plight of Greek bondage in light of it glorious past. This awakening of the Greek consciousness was catalyzed even further as a result of a governmental practice. Many Greeks who had learned and mastered Western languages (and were experienced administrators) were given important positions and held high office in the Ottoman administration. Because of their versatility and usefulness in trading and other transactions, they acted as translators in administrative transactions around the world. Increasingly, they recognized the importance of freedom from Turkish rule. They thus attracted the attention of Philhellenes from both Europe and Great Britain who were still influenced by the renaissance period which resurrected the glories of ancient Greece. Within such a climate the French Enlightenment exerted a powerful influence on the subsequent Greek Enlightenment--1750-1821 (Theocharides, 1971). All out efforts were thus launched, outside of governmental involvement, to educate the Greek people about: their nationalistic roots; about new developments in science and other areas in the West; and about their own oppression.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century a number of societies had formed for cultural education of the people. Some of these developments had ancillary political aims in drawing the Greek people together within a strong national conscience. The Philiki Etairia (Friendly Society), however,

established in 1814 had decidedly political aims--to liberate Greece through armed revolt. The feat was accomplished and by 1821 the Greek War of Independence had begun. Both because of and in spite of government policies, procedures, practices, and climate adult education played a decisive role, but outside of major governmental involvement.

Modern Greece (1821-present)

The new Greek State, which resulted from the Greek War of Independence did not initially include all of modern day Greece. The Ionian Islands were added in 1864; Thessaloniki by 1882; Epiros, Macedonia and Crete after the Balkan Wars (1912-13); and the Dodecanese Islands by 1947 (formally annexed in 1948).

Major driving forces in adult education throughout the nineteenth century were aimed at healing a broken nation and making it whole and independent again--reestablishing Greece as a free State. Attention to adult education matters were missing, however, from public efforts with the exception of the establishment of the National Library in 1828 and other libraries which followed. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth century a number of museums were founded, some with public, others with private support.

The voluntary and private sectors rose to dominate and catalyze adult education via the formation of cultural and educational societies (syllogoi) which were active in attempting to re-Hellenize the Greek population still under the Ottoman rule. Efforts were also directed to raising the cultural and educational levels of Greeks in the "free" Greece. The development of learned societies also took root. Of course, the activities were made possible by the climate set by the free State of Greece. The turn of the century witnessed the founding a number of professional associations as a means of networking and further development of members as well as continued efforts to improve the cultural and educational level of the Greek nation.

It was not until 1929 that the first official governmental input for adult education--in the form of legislation--was enacted. Law 4397 of 1929 introduced courses for adults and established night schools for illiterates. The next major advance in government support

for adult education occurred in 1943 when an Office of Adult/Popular Education was established within the Ministry of Education (Law 837). After 1945, services were established in other Ministries. Because of the ravages of World War II, and the Greek Civil War which followed, further governmental efforts were retarded until the 1950's a reconstruction period in Greek history.

The major accomplishment of the 1950's was enactment of the Law of Literacy (Law 3094 of 1954). Day and night primary schools as well as a network of Adult Education Centers throughout the country were established. Although the structure and function of the Centers were modified during the 1976-77 and 1980 educational reforms and again during 1982 and 1985, they still constitute, however, the national adult education network throughout Greece. Finally, the 1954 legislation also established a central committee and regional committees (in each district) for adult education comprised of representatives from a variety of public and private learning agents. These committees also have been enlarged and modified with subsequent legislation.

During the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's through governmental initiatives a number of "live-in" UNESCO consultants were brought to Greece and selected Greeks visited other countries to ultimately improve the adult education strides in Greece. International contacts were initiated and supported by the State to effectuate the continued development of adult education. This scenario contrasts with international contacts and their role in adult education during the Turkish occupation and rule. Moreover, the Military Dictatorship (1967-1974) posed its own structural challenges to adult education endeavors. Although outside the scope of present space constraints to detail, a list of all major legislation relevant to adult education will be made available to conference participants and readers.

Policy frameworks for adult education which emerge at the governmental level, of course, often reflect the economic, social, and most important the political context. In that vein, a major political transition occurred in Greece during 1981 and accordingly reflects the tenor of the adult education climate. In October, 1981 the first socialist (democratic-socialist) government in the history of Greece

was elected. On June 2, 1985 PASOK (Pan Hellenic Socialist Movement) was reelected for another term. Consequently legislative and operational efforts in adult education are framed within a philosophical foundation of participatory invovlement of citizens and increased responsibility and independence for local authorities, among other matters.

Within this context the woman's movement, the peace movement, and the labor movement have emerged as strong adult education forces. Social reform and awareness likewise permeate other activities. Clearly, the relationship between the State and adult education is evident.

Summary

Illustrative examples of the relationship between the State and adult education throughout Greek history were offered. The following periodization schema provided a framework: (a) Pre-history (c. 3000-1100 B.C.), and early and Archaic (c. 1100-700 B.C.) periods, (b) Pre-classical and classical (c. 700-323 B.C.), (c) Hellenistic (323-146 B.C.), (d) Graeco-Roman (146 B.C.-330 A.D.), (e) Byzantine (330-1453), (f) Turkish occupation and rule, (1453-1821), (g) Modern Greece (1821-present).

The influence of the State comes in many forms. Throughout Greek history adult education has been catalyzed sometimes because of, other times in spite of governmental support, and yet in other instances as a reaction against governmental climate. Cultural and societal values as well as governmental philosophy (implicit or explicit) also influence the interpretation of what constitutes education and learning. In Greece, for example, cultural education has been recognized and valued throughout history, even in subjugation periods. Support given by the State to cultural and athlectic events from early times, the influence of political leaders in promoting legislation as well as in setting both favorable and unfavorable climates and attitudes toward continuous learning have been highlighted. The role emperors played in this process is particularly evident in the Byzantine period. Clearly, the influence of the State forms a context within which adult education manifests--for better or for worse.

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